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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00		/024W
				-----	8BFA23	311519Z	/38

O 311508Z DEC 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2646
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: IMPASSE AGAIN

REF: KIGALI 05356

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: RWANDAN POLITICAL PARTIES FAILED TO
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REACH A COMPROMISE ON WHETHER TO INCLUDE THE CDR IN
THE NEW TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. BUT CONVERSATIONS
CONTINUE, IN SPITE OF A NASTY MRND/CDR UNAUTHORIZED
DEMONSTRATION WHICH CLOSED MOST OF THE COUNTRY'S MAIN
HIGHWAYS. THE DEMONSTRATION SET OUT TO PROVE THAT
THEY CAN DESTROY ANY AGREEMENT REACHED IN ARUSHA THAT
THEY DON'T AGREE WITH. FRENCH, BELGIAN AND U.S.
AMBASSADORS AND THE PAPAL NUNCIO CALLED ON THE PRIME
MINISTER TODAY TO URGE FURTHER EFFORTS AT CONSENSUS
IN KIGALI IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE ARUSHA TALKS.
END SUMMARY.

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CDR COMPROMISE FAILS

3. IN A LONG MEETING DECEMBER 30, LEADERS OF THE MRND, MDR, PL AND PSD MET WITH THE PRIME MINISTER IN AN EFFORT TO MOVE THE PROCESS FORWARD. ACCORDING TO MDR PRESIDENT TWAGIRAMUNGU, AND CABINET DIRECTOR OF THE PRESIDENT RUHIGIRA, THE NEGOTIATIONS FOUNDERED ON THE PRIME MINISTER'S INSISTENCE THAT THE CDR COULD NOT BE A PART OF THE NEXT GOVERNMENT. THE PRIME MINISTER WAS SUPPORTED BY THE PL AND THE PSD AND THE MDR EITHER DID NOT PRESS THE POINT OR WAS OVERRULED. IN THE END THE MRND REPRESENTATIVE, NATIONAL SECRETARY MATTHIEU NGIRUMPATSE, AGAIN THREATENED THAT THE MRND WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE NEW TRANSITION GOVERNMENT UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES.

4. FOLLOWING THE BREAK DOWN, RUHIGIRA SENT A LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT
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CALLING FOR MORE DIALOGUE AND A NEED FOR CONSENSUS
BEFORE ONE PROCEEDS WITH A PEACE NEGOTIATION (FAXED
TO AF/C.)

CDR AND ALLIANCE REACT

5. AS SOON AS THEY LEARNED OF THEIR REJECTION BY THE PARTIES MEETING, CDR AND MRND ACTIVISTS DECIDED TO RESCHEDULE A DEMONSTRATION WHICH HAD BEEN PLANNED FOR EARLIER THAT DAY. BUT THIS WAS NEITHER REQUESTED NOR AUTHORIZED. THIS WAS A WILDCAT OPERATION WHICH CLOSED ALL THE ROADS IN AND OUT OF KIGALI AND AFFECTED ROAD TRANSPORT IN MOST OF THE REST OF THE COUNTRY EXCEPT FOR MDR HEARTLAND OF GITARAMA AND BUTARE. MRND NATIONAL SECRETARY ASSURED ME AND THE PRIME MINISTER THAT EVERYTHING WOULD BE LIFTED BY NOON. IT HASN'T HAPPENED. A MORE DETAILED REPORT OF THE DEMONSTRATION AND ITS IMPACT IS BEING SENT BY SEPTEL.

6. LATE IN THE MORNING, THE MRND PUT OUT A COMMUNIQUE ON THEIR DEMONSTRATION. IT WAS ISSUED IN KINYARWANDA ONLY AND OUR TRANSLATION MAY NOT BE

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ACCURATE, BUT THE GIST OF IT IS AS FOLLOWS:

7. THE ALLIANCE PARTIES HAVE WATCHED THE FOREIGN
MINISTER IN ARUSHA CONTINUE TO COMMIT TREASON IN AN
EFFORT TO PASS ALL POWER TO THE RPF AND ITS ALLIES
INTERNALY. THIS EFFORT THREATENS THE SECURITY OF
RWANDANS AND FOREIGNERS IN RWANDA. THEREFORE, THE
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PURPOSE OF THIS DEMONSTRATION ON DECEMBER 31 IS:

A. TO MAKE THE PRIME MINISTER UNDERSTAND THAT THE
NEGOTIATIONS IN ARUSHA ARE FOR ALL RWANDANS;

B. TO MAKE THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE FOREIGN
MINISTER AND THE FOREIGNERS IN RWANDA TO UNDERSTAND
THAT THE ALLIANCE HAS THE FORCE TO PREVENT THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF ANY ACCORDS SIGNED IN ARUSHA
WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT;

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O 311508Z DEC 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2647

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C. THE ALLIANCE DEMANDS THAT THE GOVERNMENT MEET TO DECIDE ON FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND THE PRIME MINISTER;

D. THE ALLIANCE PROTESTS THE FACT THAT THE MDR, PL
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AND PSD ARE TRYING TO TAKE POWER BY FORCE;

E. THE ALLIANCE DENOUNCES THE PARTIES WHO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE RPF;

F. THE ALLIANCE CALLS ON THE PRIME MINISTER TO ESCHEW THE POLICIES OF ASSASSINATION AND MURDER WHICH HE HAS BEEN USING IN THE PAST.

8. COMMENT: IF THE CDR WERE TRYING ITS BEST TO FIND A TACTIC TO FORCE THE OTHER PARTIES TO REJECT IT, IT WOULD HAVE SUCCEEDED WITH THIS COMMUNIQUE. IT WILL NOW BE EVEN HARDER TO FIND A WAY TO RECONCILE THE OTHER PARTIES TO THE EXISTENCE OF THE CDR. END COMMENT.

CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER

9. AFTER DISCUSSING THE COMBINED POLITICAL AND SECURITY SITUATION WITH THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR, WE DECIDED TO GET TOGETHER WITH THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AND THE NONCE TO MAKE ANOTHER CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER. THE PRIME MINISTER RECEIVED US AT NOON.

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WE TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER THAT WE WERE STIMULATED TO SEE HIM BUT CONCERNED FOR THE SECURITY PROBLEMS IN THE TOWN AND BY THE OBVIOUS BLOCKAGE IN THE INTER PARTY TALKS. WE ALSO ASKED FOR A SUMMARY OF PROGRESS BEING MADE BOTH IN KIGALI AND IN ARUSHA ON PEACE.

10. ON THE INTERNAL QUESTIONS, THE PRIME MINISTER
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SAID THAT THEY HAD STARTED THEIR DISCUSSIONS ON DECEMBER 18 AND WERE MOVING FAIRLY WELL UNTIL THE DECEMBER 30 MEETING WHEN THE SUBJECT WAS THE INCLUSION OF THE CDR IN THE NEW TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. ACCORDING TO THE PRIME MINISTER, THE MRND MADE VERY CLEAR THAT THE HANDLING OF THE TWO "OTHER PARTY" CABINET POSITIONS WOULD DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT THE MRND WOULD JOIN THE GOVERNMENT. THE MRND REJECTED THE CONCEPT OF INDEPENDENT INDIVIDUALS, AND PROPOSED EITHER THAT BOTH POSITIONS BE GIVEN TO THE CDR OR ONE BE GIVEN TO CDR AND THE OTHER TO PECO (BOTH MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE). THE PRIME MINISTER'S SIDE SAID THE SELECTION SHOULD BE ON THE BASIS OF THE CRITERIA MADE BY THE BISHOPS, ONLY THE PDI AND THE PD WOULD FULFILL THOSE CONDITIONS. THE TALKS BROKE DOWN AT THIS POINT. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT HE HAD ASKED THE MRND IN THE PERSON OF NATIONAL SECRETARY MATTHIEU NGIRUMPATSE TO COME FORWARD WITH NEW PROPOSALS. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT SINCE THE TALKS GOT NOWHERE YESTERDAY, HE HAS SENT NO INSTRUCTIONS TO ARUSHA.

THE PRIME MINISTER ON ARUSHA

11. I TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER THAT WE HAD INFORMATION FROM DAR ES SALAAM THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER WAS PLANNING TO SIGN A PROTOCOL ON JANUARY 3RD OR SHORTLY THEREAFTER. I ASKED HOW THIS COULD BE SINCE THERE WAS NO CONSENSUS HERE. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT THEY HAD THOUGHT OF SIGNING A PROTOCOL LEAVING BLANK
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THE QUESTION OF WHICH PARTIES WOULD HOLD THE TWO MINISTERIAL POSTS NOT ALREADY ATTRIBUTED. BUT EVEN THIS HAD BEEN IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE THE RPF REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE CDR IN THE NEW NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THIS WAS A POSITION THAT THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THE GOVERNMENT HERE COULD NOT ACCEPT. THERE WAS STILL A DEBATE IN KIGALI OVER WHETHER THE CDR COULD BE ADMITTED INTO THE GOVERNMENT, BUT THERE WAS A FIRM PRINCIPLE ESTABLISHED HERE THAT ALL PARTIES WOULD HAVE TO BE INCLUDED IN THE ASSEMBLY. SINCE THE RPF REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE CDR EVEN IN THE ASSEMBLY, THERE IS A BLOCKAGE IN ARUSHA.

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12. THE PRIME MINISTER REGRETTED THE FACT THAT THE ETHNIC TROUBLES IN GISENYI AND THE FORCEFUL, ALTHOUGH APPARENTLY NONVIOLENT, INTERVENTIONS OF THE CDR AND MRND ALL OVER THE COUNTRY TODAY WOULD MAKE IT EVEN HARDER TO ENGAGE THE RPF IN A MEANINGFUL DISCUSSION

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OF INCLUDING THE CDR IN THE ASSEMBLY.

COMMENT

13. I BELIEVE THAT THE PRIME MINISTER UNDERSTOOD CLEARLY THAT THE WESTERN DIPLOMATS BELIEVE IT IS NECESSARY TO REACH AN INTERNAL CONSENSUS BEFORE HE AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER PROCEED TO A SIGNATURE IN ARUSHA. IT'S ALSO CLEAR TO ME THAT DAR ES SALAAM IS PROBABLY CORRECT THAT THE PRIME MINISTER IS USING THE THREAT OF THE SIGNATURE TO PUT PRESSURE ON HABYARIMANA. IT IS NOT AT ALL CLEAR THAT HIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE WESTERN POSITION WILL TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER HIS DESIRE TO SQUEEZE THE PRESIDENT.

14. APPARENTLY THE TANZANIANS ARE THREATENING THAT THE RWANDANS ON BOTH SIDES WILL NOT BE WELCOME BACK IN ARUSHA IF THEY HAVEN'T REACHED AN AGREEMENT IN ADVANCE. THUS NGULINZIRA IS STUCK IN ARUSHA, AFRAID TO GO HOME FOR FEAR THAT HE WILL HAVE NO PLACE TO GO TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS, AND UNABLE TO SIGN A FINAL AGREEMENT BECAUSE OF FUNDAMENTAL DISAGREEMENT BOTH IN KIGALI AND WITH THE RPF IN ARUSHA.

15. BY CLOSE OF BUSINESS TODAY, THERE IS MORE TALK ABOUT TALKING. NGIRUMPATSE AND TWAGIRAMUNGU MET THIS MORNING. THE OPPOSITION PARTIES ARE MEETING AGAIN THIS AFTERNOON. PEOPLE ACCEPT THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER AS ONE OF CONCILIATION, EVEN IF SOME CONSIDER IT HYPOCRITICAL.

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16. HAPPY NEW YEAR. FLATEN

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